

# The Politic of the So'leran Body: An Effort to Reclaim the Masculinity of Madurese Men

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## The Politic of the *So'leran* Body: An Effort to Reclaim the Masculinity of Madurese Men

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### Abstract

In Madura, women are the main determinant in cultural and social recognition of male masculinity. It is because women are those among the first who create and give control and power to call the men (whom they marry) as *lake'* or *tak lake'*. The term of *tak lake'* not only marks the disappearance of the biological function of maleness, but also the loss of a man's "self-esteem" in this highly patriarchal culture. The more terrible thing is when this predicate of *tak lake'* triggering the *so'ler*. How does the political body of *so'leran* constructs the gender relations of Madurese men and women in the domestic circle? Together with descriptive qualitative methods, the researcher deepens this research by using Foucault's genealogical perspective. Meanwhile, a case study approach is also used for this research. In this research, the researcher finds the fact that the political body of *so'leran* is made and divided into two ways, namely discipline and panopticon. Another fact is that the relationship of power and knowledge of the Madurese male masculinity discourse has punished the body of a man by calling it *tak lake'*, for it is unable to meet the expectations of masculinity constructed by Madurese society. Thus, men use strategies to maintain and preserve their masculinity in Madurese patriarchal culture.

**Keywords:** *So'leran*, the Politics of the Body, Foucault, Masculinity, Patriarchy.

### PREFACE

In Madura, the construction of the physical values of male masculinity or being called as *lake'* is characterized by a body that is capable of meeting the sexual expectations of their partner, not impotent and also able to make his partner pregnant (having children) (Rifai, 2007). The more children men have, the more *lake'* they are considered. Meanwhile, in the construction of social values, Madurese men are required to have high responsibilities, able to support the economic needs of their families, and dare to maintain their self-esteem. Which means, in addition to being able to protect and maintain their manliness, at a certain point, they also need to be able to do *carok* (kill people who have insulted their pride) (Wiyata, 2002) to those who have disturbed their wives. It is because in Madurese tradition, a wife is a man's pride.

The failure of Madurese men to meet their masculinity expectations as explained above, resulted in their being called *tak lake'* (not macho, not manly, not masculine). It is the same as the failure of the man in becoming the head of his family because he could not maintain the integrity of his household from the causes of destruction and even separation. Man's social failure is related to the failure in fulfilling the duties and obligations as a head of the family by providing the household needs. While failing in physical value, is failing to fulfill the wife's sexual expectations, because of 'losing' in a 'bed battle' or failing to make the wife pregnant (do not have children), aka impotent (Pranata, 2009)

For this failure, in Madura's term, men are called as *jubheng* alias unproductive, weak, sickly and defeated. If so, the wife has the power to divorce the man. And if the woman who divorced him remarries, the man will experience what is called as *so'ler*. In this case, *so'ler* means that the woman replaces her husband with the body of another man who becomes her new husband. The term *tak lake'* does become more thickly attached to the divorced man when the new husband of the woman is in a "better" position than him in all matters, both financially and virility (in the conception of masculinity in Madurese society).

The predicate of *tak lake'* became the most appalling thing for Madurese men, as it marked not only the disappearance of biological functioning of men, but also the loss of a man's "self-esteem" in the face of his highly patriarchal culture. This understanding is similarly proportional to the masculinity of the people of Nairobi in Africa. Through Kageha and Moyer's writings entitled '*Putting Sex on The Table,*' it is understood that men in Nairobi society do have pressure to satisfy their wives in terms of sexuality. A man's sexual ability is one of the important benchmarks of their masculinity.

Thus, to maintain their masculinity, especially those related to the body directly, Madurese men use various strategies so as not to 'lose' in their 'bed battles' such as consuming 'strong' herbs or tonic (*obat kuat*) (Astuti, 2002. Bustami 2006), *hajar jahannam*, and masseur services. This is because bed is considered a battle arena for dominance between women and men since ancient times. If a man is unable to fulfill his partner's sexual desire expectations, then the woman has a reason to divorce him, and then replaces him with a younger, stronger, and more powerful male body. In this case, bed is understood not only as a battle arena for the desires of two partners, but also as a battle place of ideology, character, mentality and also power, because according to Foucault (1997: 25-27) sex (bed activity) cannot be separated from power, and the body becomes the area where the power relation runs on it.

The ones being experienced by the *so'leran* body is what is called as the politics of the body. Where the body becomes the object of power and is regulated by society; it is shunned, despised, rejected, reviled, banished, manipulated, repressed, controlled, and judged both with attitude (acts) and with narration (words). *So'leran* body is no longer valuable and has to endure solitude even until it dies. The *tak lake'* body will be rejected by the community's cultural system by being referred to as a damaged body and potentially leading to problems in the household, especially for his future wife.

The rejection of the *so'leran* body who wants to remarry is more due to the belief of some Madurese people in one of the factors that determine the happiness of marriage; the affairs of bed and body. Besides being able to fulfill his wife's sexual expectations, a Madurese man must also be able to make his wife pregnant. It means that Madurese men should not be impotent, because the purpose of marriage in Madurese society is to have offspring (Bustami, 2006)

This Madurese culture is likely similar to what happened in England in the 17th century, where Thomas Foster (1999) said that during that time, there was a dominance of the reproductive imperative. At that time, all married couples must have their own descendants, and if there are

couples who were not procreative, it will be criminalized through court proceedings and divorce.

Foster (1999) stated that a man's inability to 'please' his wife in 'bed' is just as bad as his inability to reproduce (making his wife pregnant). This disability is called impotence and is considered as shameful and criminal behavior. It is because at that time, sex was considered important in marriage and it aimed only for human reproduction.

According to Foster (1999), sex or intimate relationships in marriage in the 17th century England, was not seen as a discourse of sexuality, rather, it was seen only as a media for reproductive activities (heredity). In other words, all forms of non-heterosexual sexuality, such as homosexuals, transgender people, and even impotence were considered deviant behavior and thus criminalized. So not only in Madura, but also in other countries of the world, impotent man can be divorced by the wife. The difference is that British men may be divorced by their wives because of impotence (non-reproductive), while Madurese men are divorced because of them being *tak lake*, which is a social construction of a man's masculinity.

The practice of divorce for male bodies due to their impotence or *tak lake* shows that a body is not just a biological body with zero value. Rather, it is also a social body full of meaning, which can be constructed by various ideologies. The body becomes a person bearing cultural practices so that it becomes an arena of contestation of various ideologies, and Bordo (2003) calls it as *the politics of the body*. According to Bordo, the body is always in the grip of culture and is manifested in cultural practices and habits of daily life, just as the *so'leran* body is constructed by Madurese people as a broken body and will not be 'well-sold' anymore.

The *so'leran* body is in the grip of culture, which fully participates in all the social practices that govern and limit it with a set of rules that allow and forbid it. For example, he is unable to remarry and bears the stigma of being *tak lake* for the rest of his life. In the body of the *so'leran* there is an arena of contestation of various ideologies as an intimidated body, dominated or ruled by powers. That is why, *so'leran* as a political body in Foucault's thought is built in a discourse of the body as a unity between knowledge and power that are connected to each other.

## METHODOLOGY

This Study is a descriptive qualitative study that will give an understanding about how men who are *So'leran* do politics over his body to restore his lost masculinity due to the practice of divorce by his wife and also as a result of the practice of *so'ler*, where their wife has re-married with another man, who is physically, socially, and economically superior from him. So this study was conducted in the vicinity of Pamekasan Madura, both urban, rural and also coastal, where the *So'leran* lives, because this research is a case study, where the research carried out focuses on a particular case to be observed and analyzed thoroughly until it is completed. The case in question can be single or plural, for example in the form of individuals or groups. Here, it is necessary to conduct a sharp analysis of various factors related to the case so that finally an accurate conclusion will be obtained Furthermore. The case study method as a type of

descriptive approach, is an intensive, detailed and in-depth study of an organism (individual), an institution or specific symptoms with a narrow/particular area or subject.

The application of this descriptive qualitative method using a case study approach that is inseparable from Foucault's genealogical perspective frame, is intended to carefully examine the case of the men's *so'leran* body that are called *tak lake'* in Madura. How the social culture of the Madurese community constructs the *so'leran* body into an entity. So the subject this research is *So'leran*, that is man who is sued for divorce by his wife and then married to another man. The subjects chosen were those age 20-60 years with a marriage age of 5-20 years and become a *So'leran* for 3-10 years. Based on information retrieval with the Snow Ball technique in this study obtained 4 informants who are willing to be involved in this research through in depth interviews.

Besides, this study also involved informants who related with this research likes ex-wife of the *So'leran*, *Kiai* (Religious Leaders), and Madurese culture practitioner to provide detailed information about efforts to restore the masculinity of *So'leran* as Madurese man.

## RESULT & DISCUSSION

### THE DISCOURSE OF *SO'LERAN*

According to the tradition of the Madurese language, the word *so'ler* has a meaning of swapping or replacing. The word *so'ler* is used in the tradition of trading or exchanging livestock in the market, namely cows or goats, especially those that the bodies are already *jubheng* (unproductive or sickly). The *jubheng* cows are sold or traded-in with healthy and productive cows to be taken cared again until the cows' body are ready to take part in the cow racing (*karapan sapi*), or to be slaughtered so that the meat can be sold in the market, or to meet the needs of the owner's traditional events, such as *selamatan*, weddings, welcoming people who come back from the city of Mecca, birth events, etc. (Danandjaja, 2000)

Cows that are being *so'ler* are cows around the age of one to one and a half year with a price of three to five million. Meanwhile, the cows that are considered ready to be slaughtered are cows at the age of three with a price of twelve million. Cows that are under one year old are still not yet in time to being *so'ler* because their owners can still strived for their bodies better by caring and giving them additional food or drinks to make their bodies more productive. In addition, the cows that are devoted specifically and specially to participating in the cow racing competition are prepared and treated in a special way, because winning a *karapan sapi* is considered a symbol of prestige that can lift the dignity and self-esteem of their owners. For that reason, cows are treated in a very special way by giving them special massages and special food with not less than 80 eggs every day, so that the stamina and strength of the cows are well maintained. Cows that lose in the *karapan* are considered weak and no longer productive. Then, they are sold at a very cheap price and are being *so'ler* with other healthier and stronger cows. Those healthier and stronger cows will then be cared for and prepared for the upcoming *karapan* competition (Raditya, 2014)



Meanwhile, ordinary cows which are not specifically trained for *karapan* are treated as usual. Besides feeding them grass, they are also provided with a cage to protect them from heat and rain. Because of the usual care received by the cows, it is natural that some cows are unhealthy and sickly. Many of them are weak and thin, so the owner took the initiative to *so'ler* them with healthier cows to be cared for and well treated again until the age of three and thus they will be ready to be sold or slaughtered. On one hand, cows with healthy and large bodies that are already around three years old, will be valued very expensive around twelve to seventeen million. It provided high profits to the owner who has been caring for the cows for years. That is why, to have a healthy cow with a large body is the main goal of the cow owner. On the other hand, to have a weak and sick cow is a failure for him, then doing *so'ler* to that cow is the most appropriate solution for him to be able to obtain high profits.

The word *so'ler* which was originally used only in the tradition of buying and selling or trading animals (cattle), is now manifested and applied to the social domain referred to wives who divorce their husbands because their bodies are old, sickly, and *tak lake'*. Then, the wife remarried to a man whose body is younger, stronger and *lake'*. The term *lake'* refers to a man who has two values, namely physically strong to be able to meet the sexual expectations of his wife in bed, also socially strong and be able to be responsible for providing a living to meet the expectations of his household needs.

The use of the term *so'ler* from the tradition of buying and selling livestock to the case of households is due to the existence of the tradition of *mon-semon* or *parsemon* in Madurese society. *Parsemon* is a metaphorical expression in a conversation between two or more people who understand its real meanings, especially matters relating to sex because it is still considered taboo to be the subject of open and public conversation. *Parsemon* is used when discussing other people's cases relating to taboo matters, including talking about a *so'leran* which is a *tak lake'* man who is divorced by his wife and then replaced by another man. This is a taboo, because the talk of *tak lake'* is a very sensitive topic to be discussed, especially for Madurese men.

When the sentence '*di so'ler*' is pronounced, no one will ask for a more detail explanation, for they have already understood each other, that what is meant by '*di so'ler*' is being divorced because of *tak lake'*, and replaced by another man who is more *lake'* with no detailed explanation or confirmation, whether the divorced husband is really *tak lake'*, or whether there are other reasons for the divorce. It is because everyone in the society agrees that men who are *so'ler* are men who are *tak lake'*. Thus, the discourse of *so'leran* is referred only to a man who is sued for divorce by his wife - with any reason - and then the wife remarries in a relatively quick time with a man who looks more masculine than her previous husband, both masculine in his physical values and great in his socio-cultural values (Wandi, 2015)

Masculinity is very closely related to the body. The body itself is used as the legitimacy of the hegemony of men's masculinity, both to subordinate women and also dominate other men, because it is defined as a configuration of gender practices that guarantee the continuity of

culture or the patriarchal system, which places the highest position to the domination of men (Connell, 2005: 77-78).

Women as a wife are the main determinants of Madurese men's masculinity due to the *tak lake*' recognition of a man starting from the wife. So if a woman states that the man she married is *tak lake*', all the household expectations he imagined at the beginning of the marriage are done and perished. Besides that, the masculinity of Madurese men in their household area is tested with their capacity as the head of the family who is able to meet the needs of the household in terms of financial support (economy). For this reason, when a man does not work, or even gaining salary less than the wife's salary, then his household has the potentiality to experience destruction, for he is considered a failure to become the head of the family. This kind of failure can also cause infidelity or divorce by the wife as a form of confession for the husband's *tak lake*' condition. So, it is understood that the relationship in the household is the main *locus* (place) for the existence of the power over a man's body or a *so'leran* body.

Then what should a *so'leran* man who has been judged as *tak lake*' do to become *lake*' again? Facts found by the researcher in the field about how the *lake*' predicate can be re-owned by men who are already attached to the title of *tak lake*', can be done in two ways, namely:

### 1. Carok

By doing *carok* or killing the man who interferes (cheats or marries) his wife, a man will regain public recognition of his masculinity (his *lake*' qualities). This method has been practiced by many Madurese men, even though they have to bear the risk of being held in prison. Prison is not a frightening specter for Madurese men, compared to having to last a lifetime bearing the title of *tak lake*' and being excluded from his social life. Moreover, this *carok* can restore his self-esteem that has been destroyed by being sued for divorce by his wife (Wiyata, 2002)

### 2. Re-marrie

The man who is *so'ler* or being called as *so'leran*, will soon remarry as an effort to restore his pride as a Madurese man. As quick as possible, this solution should be done precisely before his ex-wife remarried. Of course, it is for him to escape the assumption of *tak lake*'. The gruesome assumption of being *tak lake*' encourages Madurese men to immediately precede the remarriage, even if it necessarily means that he has to marry whoever wants to marry him. There is no other expectation of the marriage except to precede his wife's marriage and to release the title or *tak lake*' from himself. So whatever the method is, maintaining the existence of Madurese men is the main and most important form of strengthening their self-esteem.

## THE POLITICS OF THE SO'LERAN BODY

When we talk about power and knowledge relations, it cannot be separated from the body, because according to Foucault (1978) the root of power lies in the body, and in its genealogy, the body is understood to be the *locus* (place) of power. Meanwhile, in the socio-cultural context, the body is a representation of the socio-cultural community that concerns its system or structure (Bordo, 2003). So seeing the body means seeing the world, and how the power of the world works, can be seen from the body. The body that is overpowered, controlled,

dominated, and regulated is called the politics of the body. So the relation of the power of knowledge is never in favor of the body, and the body is always becoming a victim of that power, including the *so'leran* body which is considered *tak lake*' (not masculine).

Procedures or methods are needed to make the body obedient, which is the *lake*' body. Among them are disciplining the body. Discipline according to Foucault (1997) is the conquest of the body through careful and detailed control mechanisms by being continuously trained and repeatedly tested or corrected to form a useful body. In other words, discipline is a way of exercising control over the body to produce an obedient body, in order to be a *lake*', that is by consuming 'strong' herbs (*jamu kuat*), doing massages special for men, taking 'strong' pills or capsules, and using '*hajar jahanam*.' (Bustami, 2006)

Punishment is the consequence of a disciplinary procedure that is set on the body. The punishment for *so'leran* who failed in disciplining his body is by being stigmatized as *tak lake*' towards his masculinity, and this title is considered to be very horrible for men who live in patriarchal system. That is why, the predicate of *tak lake*' is a very cruel punishment for Madurese men. They will have to work really hard to omit this predicate even though their bodies and lives are at stake in the practice of *carok* (Raditya, 2014)

Panopticon is a part of disciplining the body that contains two methods, namely disciplining by physically touching the body with torture, and disciplining without having to touch the body, such as a prison in which not only regulates the body with exercises, or limits freedom of activity, but also conducts supervision (Panopticon). This is based on Foucault's analysis (1997: 26) towards the change in the form of punishment in Europe in the 17-19th century against criminals who did not obey the rules or rebelled against the authorities.

At the end of the 17th century until the beginning of the 18th century, the European kingdom imposed cruel tortures on the bodies of criminals and was publicly displayed. Then that punishment of torture as 'public spectacle' was erased and increasingly lost from people's memories in the 19th century. These changes happened because that kind of punishments are considered inhumane, and thus replaced with institutions, the formulation of rules and laws, the determination of the court system that ends in prison, wherein there are restrictions, training and supervisions as punishment.

Although the punishment in the prison is part of disciplining the body that does not touch the body directly, all the procedures still involve the body, such as restrictions on activity, forced labor, working on time, and so on. This shows that the body is an instrument or media of the continuity of the power of knowledge over the body, especially in terms of supervision or panopticon.

Actually the meaning of this isolation term by Foucault (1997: 111) is based on a case of saving the community in a particular environment from infectious diseases or bacteria. But in general, the meaning of isolation is understood as something separate and not connected to other things. Thus, the isolation of *so'leran* is done by cultivating knowledge in the community about



*so'leran* as a useless person with a damaged body, so it must be addressed with an act of rejection.

### THE GENEALOGY OF *SO'LERAN* BODY

Power is everywhere, and in any form of every relationship there must be power in it (Foucault, 1978). Including the relationship between humans and the social culture in which they live and also the relationship between men and women, which determines the Madurese men's masculinity with two valuations, namely *lake'* (macho, manly, and masculine) or *tak lake'* (weak, sissy, and pygmy).

The power of a patriarchal cultural system and hegemony of masculinity over Madurese men to become a *lake'*, by Foucault (1997: 155), is called as the genealogy of the body, which aims to show how power and knowledge relations can be manifested into the body, namely the body of Madurese men to become *lake'*. According to Foucault (in Eriyanto, 2003: 65) the relationship between power and knowledge is mutual and reciprocal, where power creates a knowledge entity, while knowledge causes the effect of power. Or in other words, there is no knowledge without power, and vice versa. Meanwhile, knowledge which is in the form of discourses, produces a truth from the results of the collective justification of society. The justification is the effect of power or authority, because power or authority according to Foucault is not a power to control people or institutions, but as an act of repression or oppression (Haryatmoko, 2002: 10).

The predicate *tak lake'* to men who are being *so'ler* alias *So'leran* by the community, is an effect of power through the Madurese male masculinity discourse which is constructed and produced by Madurese social culture. The discourse then becomes a truth through a process of internalization in the community by justifying without verification or clarification. This truth also shows that power operates unconsciously into the network of public awareness, because power according to Foucault (in Haryatmoko: 2002) does not come from the outside, but from the within through rules, regulations, laws, and even traditions and culture. Meanwhile, tradition and culture are understood as a society's way of looking or living through mutual agreement to be guarded, maintained, cared for and inherited from generation to generation to become an image or characteristic of a society that distinguishes it from other community systems.

The relation of power and knowledge of the *so'leran* body by the name of *tak lake'* is caused by:

#### 1. *Parabhesan* (Phrase) Madura

*So'leran* is the object of the power of Madurese knowledge about masculinity or the manliness (*lake'*) of Madurese men. Knowledge about standardization or the requirements to be a *lake'* for Madurese men is part of the construction of the cultural system of the Madurese community, which is based on *parabhesan* (phrase) "*Lebbih bagus poteh tolang etembeng poteh matah*" (It is better for the bone to be white than for the eyes to be white, which means, it is better to

die rather than live in shame). This meaning is closely related to men's self-esteem as the fixed price.

One of the meanings included in the phrase of "self-esteem" in that *parabhesan* is to be *lake'* by having three masculinity values, namely social values, physical values and cultural values. All three are knowledge that is constructed by the social culture of the Madurese community to dominate or possess men who do not meet or do not have some of the three values of masculinity to be called as *tak lake'*. This title is considered to be capable of destroying or undermining the dignity and self-esteem of men in the face of a patriarchal society.

Madurese men's self-esteem is shown through the community's recognition of his capacity as a man, especially related to his masculinity. If the recognition is in the form of *tak lake'*, this automatically means that his pride has been degraded, or in other words the community does not recognize his capacity as a man. One of the causes is, when he was sued for divorce and then being *so'ler* by his wife.

The *parabhesan* also means that it requires *reng Madureh*, especially men, to reclaim their self-esteem that has been degraded through *carok*. It is because in *parabhesan*, there is the phrase '*poteh tollang*' which means to die. While honorable deaths are meant only through *carok*. However, if the *So'leran* does not do the *carok* to restore his pride to be a *lake'* again, then he will still be considered a man who is *tak lake'* for the rest of his life.

The interpretation of *parabhesan* that touches on men's self-esteem is part of the relation of the power of knowledge to the construction of Madurese male masculinity discourse. That power is manifested in the way the community recognizes the capacity of Madurese men as *lake'* or *tak lake'*. This means that the *parabhesan* has constructed the knowledge of the community about the capacity of Madurese male masculinity.

This knowledge not only constructs the perspective of society about the discourse of Madurese men's masculinity, but also constructs the perspective of Madurese men themselves in shaping themselves into men who are *lake'*, specifically by increasing their capacity as men, or reclaim his pride that had been harassed through *carok*.

## 2. Collective Narrative and *Kiai's* Narrative

The term *tak lake'* in *so'leran*, is a truth, where the truth is a match between propositions and facts. In other words, the community will not address *tak lake'* to the *so'leran*, without the fact that the men are indeed sued for divorce and then 'exchanged' with other men because their bodies do not meet the expectations of the Madurese masculinity. Proposition is a human statement made by the senses, while fact is an object made by the subject to the reality (Ayer, 1994 in Faradi, 2019) And in this case, what is meant by the proposition is the attitude of the Madurese community towards the *so'leran* in the form of rejection or even to the eviction from their homeland, because in reality, *so'leran* is no longer considered to meet the requirements of Madurese male masculinity as a *lake'*. Meanwhile, being a *lake'* is a necessity for Madurese men, because it is related to their self-esteem in the patriarchal system.

The next theory of truth is intersubjective theory. Here, a truth is considered to be true when it is justified by many people (Ayer, 1994 in Faradi, 2019). The contents of the truth are then called collective narratives. This is also the one confirming that in a sociological context, what is meant by truth is something that receives justification from many people. This collective narrative does not just fall from the sky, because there is another greater force that constructs the collective narrative, that is elite narrative or patron narrative that comes from community leaders. They are the *kyai* or elders who are recognized by the local community as community leaders through the tradition of *nyabis* (visiting *Kyai*) or through delivering lectures at certain events.

Geertz (1965) and Mansornoor (1990) proves that *Kiai*'s role is very important and vital in building society and had a power to can move people. Not only his behavior and provisions, but also his words are truths that must be followed by the society, because in religious interpretations, the *Kiai* is the heir to the prophet (Kamilah, 2017). Likewise what happened to the *Kiai* in Madura, which is believed by the society as someone who has strong religious knowledge and become a role model in life (Kosim, 2007) including how to look at the masculinity of Madurese men. This is also based on the local slogan of Madura, '*bhappa' bhappu' ghuru, rato*' (Father, Mother, *Kiai* and Government) which means there is a hierarchy of figures that must be respected, where after the family (Father and Mother) it is the *Kiai* who must be obeyed (Rozaki, 2004).

Some *Kiai* in Pamekasan Madura, one of them *Kiai* Baidhowi Abshar said that, "*Reng lake se alakoh romah, benni reng lake' saber, tape reng lake' bungghen*" (Men who take care of or help with household matters are not patient men, but stupid men). In Addition, *Kiai* Fauzan Badruddin said, "*Gus baggusse reng lake, se bisa ajeghe keluarganah, mon sampe apesa, ben etambe e gughet bi' reng bini' berarti jiyeyeh tak lake*" (A good men is one who can take care of his family, but if there is a divorce or got sued by his wife, it means not masculine)

Two sentence above then become an important narrative that is internalized in the minds and perspectives of the people toward the masculinity of Madurese men, especially in *So'leran* who is called *tak lake'* (not masculine) because they are unable to maintain their household as a leader until it happens *so'ler*'s practice against him. So the *Kiai*'s narratives is patron narrative as the political genealogy of the *So'leran* body in the relation of power and knowledge of Madurese male masculinity

## CONCLUSION

The *so'leran* body with the predicate of *tak lake'* is a proof of the existence of power and knowledge relations over the Madurese male masculinity discourse for their inability to meet the expectations of masculinity constructed by Madurese society. It is also a proof that the body is the locus for the occurrence of power discourse, where the body is always controlled, monitored, constructed, regulated, etc. Men or *so'leran* with the predicate of *tak lake'* are considered to fail to have the values of masculinity. It means that they are unable to succeed in maintaining their self-esteem as Madurese men in various areas of life. Especially by winning the 'battle of bed' over his partner (wife), also by being able to become the head of the family

who can meet the expectations of the household needs with greater income from his wife. This is a kind of social cultural construction of Madurese society over male masculinity through *parabhesan* and collective narratives that get their legitimacy from elite narratives (lectures from Kyai).

The results of the researcher's analysis from the hegemony of masculinity, confirmed that the politics of the *So'leran* body constructed the gender relations of Madurese men and women in the domestic circle. So that men, through the concept of panopticon, create strategies in maintaining their masculinity in the face of a patriarchal Madurese cultural system by intimidating and limiting women's space in the public sphere. So that if the expectations of the application of that panopticon concept do not actualize as they should, thus, it proves that the social system of Madurese society is a patriarchy.

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